1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

H'Uraru, the Earth, is the lesser power we cry to next. The Earth is very near to man; we speak of her as Atira, Mother, because she brings forth. From the Earth we get our food; we lie down on her; we live and walk on her; we could not exist without her, as we could not breathe without Hotoru (the Winds) or grow without Shakuru (the Sun). 539* 796* [776]

Mother Earth is very potent to help man and now we cry to her to come near and give potentiality to the sacred articles we are about to prepare.

We reverently reflect upon all that Mother Earth does for us.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

21, 22, 23 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.

24 Heru! Toharu. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.

Toharu, the living covering of the earth, no special form being indicated; a general term for vegetation, but implying the supernatural power manifested therein. Katoha'ru, trees. [778]

he! part of l'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.

25 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Toharu!"

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Toharu means all the things that Mother Earth brings forth (all forms of vegetation); these are many. They are very necessary to man and they bring him much help. They too are lesser powers, though not so potent as some of the others. From them we get our food; from them comes the grass upon which the animals feed—the animals which supply clothing and food; from them come the trees which are very necessary to us. They have a part in this ceremony. 539* 796* 824●

As we sing we think upon all that Toharu gives us and we cry to this power to come near, for without the help of Toharu some of the sacred articles required for this ceremony could not be obtained.

At this stanza the two men who have been selected to cut the two sticks of ash arise and go out of the lodge to perform this duty. The ash tree has been chosen beforehand, but the two men must cut the sticks when they go out at this time.

We stop between the stanzas of the song that this act may be performed.

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*539 74 Il'areri, 'hare! I'hare re! Il'areri. All the words are translated above. See lines 72 and 73.

*796 75 Hure-e! An abbreviation of the word haurac, coming from above. The vowel changes and prolongation are for greater ease in singing and also for euphony.

76, 77 See lines 74, 75.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[822] The color green represents Toharu (Vegetation), the covering of Il'Uraru, Mother Earth. As we sing, we ask that life be breathed into the symbol, that it may have power as we use these sacred articles. "Il'areri" is a prayer that living power may be where we place this symbol of the covering of Mother Earth. We remember as we sing that the power of Mother Earth to bring forth comes from above, "Hure-e."

The Ku'rahus paints the groove red in the same way, for the same reason as on the other ash stick, and when he has finished he hands the green stem back to the man on his right, toward the south, who holds it.

The Ku'rahus rubs upon his hands the sacred ointment which has been made by mixing red clay with fat from a deer or buffalo that has been consecrated to Tira'wa. He is now ready to tip the symbolic articles upon the two painted stems.

He splits long feathers, taken from the wings of an eagle, and glues them to each stem as feathers are glued upon the shaft of an arrow. He uses for this purpose pitch from the pine tree. These wing feathers are to remind us that the eagle flies near to Tira'wa.

[381 824 825] About one end of the stem (the mouthpiece) he fastens soft blue feathers, in color like the sky where the powers dwell. He ties a woodpecker's head on the stem near the mouthpiece and turns the upper mandible back upon the red crest. The mandible covers the red crest and keeps it from rising. This shows that the bird may not be angry. The inner side of the mandible, which is exposed by being turned back upon the crest, is painted blue, to show that Tirawa is looking down upon the open bill as the spirit of the bird travels along the red groove to reach the people.

About the middle of the stem the Ku'rahus binds feathers from the owl. The other end of the stem he thrusts through the breast, neck, and mandibles of the duck, the breast reaching to the owl feathers. The end of the stem protrudes a very little through the bill of the duck, so that the bowl of a pipe could be fitted to it. The duck's head, therefore, is always downward, looking toward the earth and the water.

[825] All the birds on the stems are leaders: the eagle is chief of the day; the owl is chief of the night; the woodpecker is chief of the trees; the duck is chief of the water.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
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are not moving at random, but in a prescribed manner, which the Ku'rahus has been taught and directed to follow; that they are led by Mother Corn authorized by the powers, and to her they must give unquestioning obedience throughout the ceremony. 539* 796*

After this song the Ku'rahus and the other bearers of the sacred objects turn, and facing the east, pass on in front of the people, who also turn and follow as they go forth on the journey.

The three songs we have just sung are in sequence. Their order can not be changed; they belong to the beginning of the journey, and teach us to obey Mother Corn.

Part II. Songs and Ceremonies of the Way

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

The journey we are taking is for a sacred purpose, and as we are led by the supernatural power in Mother Corn we must address with song every object we meet, because Tira'wa is in all things. Everything we come to as we travel can give us help, and send help by us to the Children. [824 778]

Trees are among the lesser powers, and they are represented on the Hako which we carry, so when we see trees we must sing to them.

Trees grow along the banks of the streams; we can see them at a distance, like a long line, and we can see the river glistening in the sunlight in its length. We sing to the river, and when we come nearer and see the water and hear it rippling, then we sing to the water, the water that ripples as it runs.

Song to the Trees and Streams

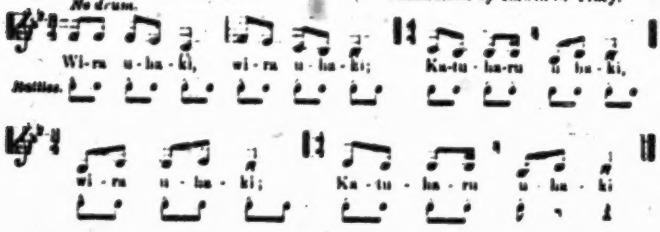
Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 112.

• = Pulsation of the voice.

No drum.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy. [533*]



I

236 Wira uhaki, wira uhaki;
237 Katuharu uhaki, wira uhaki;
238 Katuharu uhaki.

II

239 Wira uhaki, wira uhaki;
240 Kichaharu uhaki, wira uhaki;
241 Kichaharu uhaki.

III

242 Wira wihaku, wira wihaku;
243 Kichaharu wihaku, wira wihaku;
244 Kichaharu wihaku.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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Ha	tĭ	waka	ra	riki	ra	ĭtawi	ra	riki	533*
Listen	he	said	have	stand	have	telling	have	stand	
kŭruks		hĕru	ta	riki		we	ra		
bear		yonder	it	stands		now	have		
sakŭ		ra							
sun		coming							

FREE TRANSLATION

Listen, he said; he (the bear) stands,
I am telling this, yonder the bear stands,
It faces the east just before the sun appears,
Yonder the bear stands,
Now the sun is coming.

Analysis.—In this song we note the simplicity of rhythm which characterizes this entire group. A variety of progression occurs, though the major second comprises almost half the entire number of intervals. The song is minor in tonality, has a compass of six tones, and contains all the tones of the octave except the seventh. Two rhythmic units occur, the second reversing the count divisions of the first in its opening measure. The repetition of the first unit is not exact, as a third count is added to the first measure. The rhythm is particularly clear throughout the renditions. More than half the intervals are whole tones.

For a long time the Pawnee have called the cedar tree "mother," a custom which had its origin in the dream of a man who saw a cedar tree and thought it was "like a woman." He said, "This tree is made to look the same in winter and summer, and to stand up so nicely. The leaves of other trees fall but this tree is always green." This strange woman-tree made a noise like a bear and the song is used in the Bear dance. 824 787 533*

Analysis.—This melody contains the tones of the second 5-toned scale and is characterized by a descending trend. The tempo of the drum begins to decrease in the fourth and fifth measures but the drum and voice do not fully coincide until the last part of the song. Minor thirds and major seconds comprise 23 of the 30 progressions, 5 of the remaining intervals being fourths. The song is melodic in structure and has a compass of 11 tones. 533*

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Again Paruxti went on his way. Several times he opened the bag, camp was pitched. He rested only when the bag was opened. He had traveled far to the east and had returned by the north. 539 575

Fools-wolves, the wolf star, had seen Paruxti on his journey and said, "I will undo what the others wish to do. I will send a being to the earth who will ruin what the others have accomplished." He put a wolf on the earth who became hungry and ran hither and thither until he discovered the tracks of Paruxti which he followed. The wonderful being who had become tired and sleepy, lay down. As he lay there, the wolf came up to him and noticed the bag. He thought, "There must be something to eat in the bag. I will take it away and open it and find something to eat." He dragged it to some prairie where there was neither water nor timber and untied it.

The two lance men jumped out first. Wolf was frightened and jumped sidewise. Soon people came out of the bag and he heard them say that they were going to camp and get something to eat. The two lance men selected a camping place and as usual stuck their lances into the ground. The people played their games, but found no buffalo. The men shouted: "Something is wrong. Our wonderful being must be in an ill humor. Take him something to eat."

Some men carried dried meat to the wolf which he ate. The people marveled at this and did not know what to make of it. The wolf was brought to camp and given a place in the tipi where the wonderful man sat. Just as they were about to burn incense in his honor someone shouted, "Our wonderful being is coming over the hills, crying. Watch the being in our tipi, for he is not our wonderful being." The wolf tried to get away, but the people surrounded the tipi and killed him.

The four men then burned some incense before the wonderful being and anointed him with red ointment, buffalo fat mixed with red earth. All the people were gathered around the tipi and the wonderful being asked what had become of the wolf. They replied, "We killed it." Then Paruxti said, "Bring it and skin it. When the skin is dry, put it on the bundle where it must remain. You will always be known as the skiri (Skidi) or wolf people. Because you killed the first animal on earth you will die too. The gods in the heavens intended that you live forever. You will always have the lances. Those who carry them will be soldiers."

Known-the-leader sent the assistant on the north side to the morningstar bundle tipi for owl feathers which are kept in this bundle and to the left hand bundle tipi for the crow feathers kept in that bundle. When these were brought, the assistant called for one crow feather and one white goose feather from each of the other tipis. These were brought in and piled up in front of the singers by young boys. Near the feathers were placed two strips of red cloth about sixteen inches wide together with buckskin, awl, and an awl. Two men were selected to procure cedar poles for the lances. Cedar was used because the cedar tree "has life all the time." 575 [237] [824]

When the men arose, Known-the-leader took up one of the drums. The other drummers each took up the drum in front. They sang a song relating to the search for timber. After they sang four times, the drums were set down. Then the men went out with axes to cut the trees. Before actually cutting the poles four cutting motions were made. When the poles were brought in they were placed one at each side of the tipi where the young men sat. They started to cut down the pole, one man on each side, and when these were tired, others took their places. When the poles were cut and smoothed down they were placed crosswise in front of the drums. [533] [313]

The cloth was given to the men on either side who sewed it with buckskin string.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

south side. The seats west of the door are occupied by chiefs who are paired according to the two sides of the lodge. In front of the permanent leaders are laid four bows and four gourd rattles, the latter painted white. These bows and rattles are shifted at intervals to the alternating groups of leaders as previously described. [756]

The regular ceremony is held once a year when the wild sage plant reaches

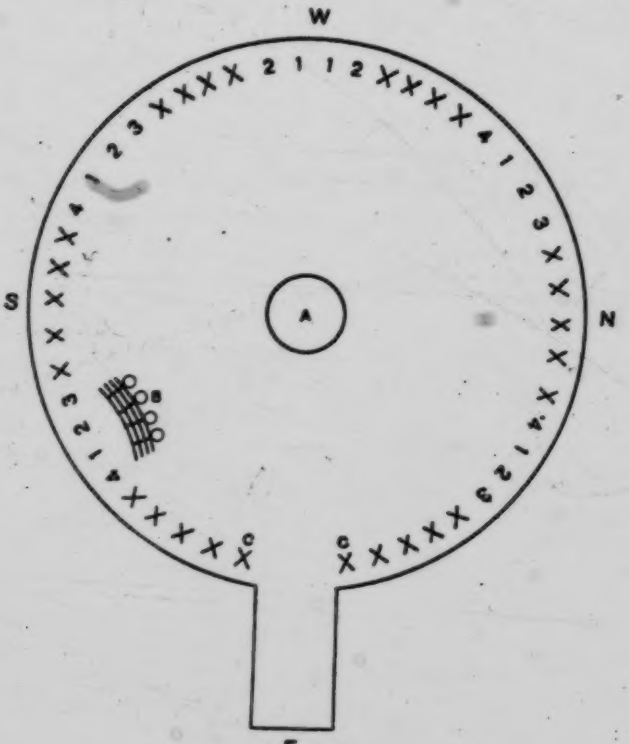

Fig. 17. Diagram of the Deer Society Ceremony: A, fireplace; B, four bows upon which rest four rattles for the leaders; C, errand men. The unusual feature of this ceremony is the place of the leaders and their order of rank; as the ritual proceeds B is shifted to the other four numbered places on the south side, then across and down the north side. At the west 1-2, 1-2 are hereditary chiefs from villages of the respective sides.

a certain stage of maturity. This plant is spread thickly around the lodge [824] and used in the incense offerings.

It is of interest to note that the members of this society are renowned

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

796 behind them was packed with spectators. So great was the eagerness of the people to see the ceremony that many of them tore holes in the roof and walls of the lodge, leaving it a complete wreck.

793 When all the invited guests had taken their places,
796 the chief priest told the priests of the Four Direction bundles to go into the woods and bring back four thick
●[824] poles about twelve feet long. The priest of the northeast was to bring an elm; he of the northwest, a box elder; he of the southwest, a cottonwood; and he of the
796 southeast, a willow. When they had returned, the four poles were laid on the fireplace with their ends together so that they formed a cross whose arms pointed to the four directions. The poles had to be long enough to last for the entire four days of the ceremony, and as they burned, they were pushed in toward the center, the cross being always maintained.

The ceremonies which followed are not fully known, but they consisted of many songs and dances, with feasting, and continued for three days and nights.
[786] During this time, and for the three days after the slaying of the sacrifice, the ordinary rules of conduct were set aside, and the priests announced to the people that if any man approached any woman during this period, she was to go with him willingly, that the tribe might increase.

727 Toward morning of each night, the representative
782 of the northeast village danced around the fireplace,
796 and taking the pole brought by the priest of that direction, pointed its glowing end toward the girl's body. This was repeated by the representative of the other directions in turn, but the girl's body was never touched with the brand. Indeed, the girl was treated with the greatest respect and consideration throughout the ceremony. She was told that the entire performance was given in her honor, and everything was done to lull

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
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her suspicions and keep her in a pleasant frame of mind. 727 782 796

On the afternoon of the fourth day, the chief priest selected four men from the Four Band village to secure the materials for the scaffold. Under the direction of the leader of the war party which had captured the girl, they went to the nearest thick timber and searched until they found a hackberry tree near the center of the grove. At this tree they made an offering of smoke to the gods, and then went northeast from it to find an elm, northwest to find a box elder, southwest to find a cotton wood, and southeast to find a willow. These were to serve for the lower cross-bars of the scaffold. They then went east until they found an elm and a cottonwood large enough to be used as uprights. Finally, they went west and cut a willow to serve as the top cross-bar. 417 782 796 [824]

When the men had departed to search for the timber, the priests sang a song describing their actions. At its conclusion the chief priest sent the two chiefs of the Morning Star village, accompanied by a warrior, to select the site of the scaffold. This had to be some place near the village which had, to the east of it, a depression or ravine large enough to conceal several men. When the chiefs had made their choice, the warrior accompanying them gave his war-cry. An errand man had been stationed outside the lodge to listen for this, and as soon as he heard and reported it, the priest of the Skull bundle ran to the place, bearing the sacred bow and two arrows. The two chiefs had stationed themselves at the points where the uprights of the scaffold were to stand, and the priest shot an arrow into the ground in front of each of them, thus marking the place where the hole was to be dug. Between these arrows four priests then dug away the soil to a depth of about a foot, making a rectangular pit ap- [533]

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
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Other important plant foods were the turkey pea, wild plum, wild cherry, Jerusalem artichoke, and the chokecherry. Of these all save the first have been found in the Hill site and have been definitely identified as to species. Others were probably used from time to time, but no record of them has survived, either archeological or documentary.

Eight species of plants have been found represented at the Hill site.[55]

Brauneria angustifolia or *Echinacea angustifolia*.
Wild plum (*Prunus americana*).
Flint corn (*Zea mays*).
Hackberry (*Celtis occidentalis*).
Chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*).
Wild potato (*Apios tuberosa*).
Bush summer squash (*Cucurbita pepo melopepo*).
Chenopodium sp. (apparently *Chenopodium nuttalliae*).

To these we may add 10 species as given by Dunbar.[56]

Wild potato (*Ipomoea pandurata*).
Wild turnip (*Arisaema triphyllum*).
Pomme blanche (*Psoralea esculenta*).
Ground bean (*Apios tuberosa*).
Cucumber root (*Medeola virginica*).
Artichoke (*Helianthus doronicoides*).
Ground plum (*Astragalus caryocarpus*).
Umbels of milkweed (*Asclepias cornuti*).
Mushroom (sp. unidentified).
Sand cherry (sp. not given).

The complete report on botanical specimens from the Hill site, as identified by Dr. Gilmore, is as follows:

No. 1. Five small pieces of the root of *Brauneria angustifolia* (*Echinacea angustifolia*). The root of this was very highly esteemed by the Pawnee and other tribes within its range, for numerous medicinal uses, especially as a remedy for the bite of rattlesnakes.

No. 2. Four pits of wild plum (*Prunus americana*). The wild plum was highly valued for food use, and was eaten in considerable quantities fresh and uncooked, and was cooked for sauce. It was also preserved for winter use by drying.

No. 3. Six charred grains of flint corn.

No. 4. A number of pits of hackberry (*Celtis occidentalis*). The sugary fruits of hackberry were eaten from hand with pleasure by all, and especially by children. They were also reduced to pulp with a stone hammer, and the resulting paste was used as a flavoring in cooking meat.

No. 5. One pit of chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*), and four small, spherical insect galls, apparently the galls which were common on the prairie rose (*Rose pratincola*).

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[55] From the Hill collection, Hastings (Nebr.) Museum. The specimens were identified by Dr. M. R. Gilmore of the University of Michigan. Letter of Apr. 10, 1931 (see also pl. 2, *a-c*).

[56] 1880, b, pp. 323–324.

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The chokecherry was greatly esteemed for food. It was cooked as a sauce while fresh, and also reduced to pulp with a stone hammer, and this paste was shaped into cakes and dried to preserve for winter use, somewhat in the manner of the dried prune paste of Bulgaria and Serbia.

The insect galls of the wild rose were supposed to possess medicinal value.

No. 6. Two tubers of *Apios tuberosa*. Apios tubers were highly valued as a food vegetable by tribes throughout the extensive range of this plant over all eastern North America. It was mentioned by Beverly and other writers of the English colony of Virginia, under the name "Openauk", which is a corruption of the name of the tubers in the language of one of the tribes of Algonkian stock in that region. Later, after the potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) had been introduced into North America, readers of these early writings erroneously construed them to refer to the potato. Hence arose the myth of potatoes having been grown by Indians of Virginia.

Peter Kalm, a Swedish botanist, in his visit to North America, mentions the common use of these tubers by the colonists of New Sweden (New Jersey) as they had learned from their Indian neighbors.

When the French Jesuit missionaries saw the Indians in New France (Quebec) harvesting these wild tubers they noticed their characteristic growth in long strings like a string of beads, hence they called them *les racines des chapelets*, "rosary roots."

When the potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) was first introduced to the people of the Dakota Nation, they compared them to the tubers of Apios, which was one of their important native food plants. The Dakota name of Apios, which is *blo*, was applied to the potato, and finally was completely transferred to it, so that now in common Dakota use the word *blo* signifies potato.

No. 7. A number of seeds of the Bush Summer Squash (*Cucurbita pepo* of the *melopepo* type). This type of cucurbit was of coextensive distribution with corn in the aboriginal agriculture of North America. In later prehistoric and historic cultures, many tribes possessed *Cucurbita maxima* (Winter Squash), *Cucurbita pepo* (Pumpkin) and *Cucurbita pepo melopepo* (Summer Squash), but in earlier prehistoric cultures *Cucurbita maxima* and *C. pepo* might be lacking, [while] it appears that *C. pepo melopepo* was not lacking in any cultures which possessed corn and beans.

No. 8. A small quantity of seeds of a chenopodiaceous plant, apparently *Chenopodium* sp. But these seeds are much larger than the seeds of any native Chenopodium of that region. The seeds of most species of chenopodiaceous plants indigenous in the region are 1 mm or less in diameter, but these are 3 mm in diameter. In the Journal of the Washington Academy of Science, volume VIII, no. 15, September 1918, W. E. Safford describes under the title "Chenopodium nuttaliae, a Food Plant of the Aztecs", a chenopodium which is cultivated in Mexico as a food grain. The seeds of our specimen more nearly agree with this description and illustrations of *Chenopodium nuttaliae* Safford, sp. nov., than with the seeds of any chenopodiaceous plant now growing in the region where these specimens were found. The puzzling and interesting question arises: How came these seeds here? Were they cultivated by the Pawnees at that time? Were they of direct importation from Mexico? It is well known that the Pawnee made expeditions into Mexico in historic time, well on into the nineteenth century. Did they bring seeds of cultivated plants thence, and was this Aztec crop plant introduced by Pawnee farmers into their farming operations in Nebraska?

White men who traveled among the Pawnee have mentioned their cultivated crops, but only corn, beans, squashes, and pumpkins, those already familiar to these white men in their own homes. It may well be that here was another

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crop unknown to these white men and unnoticed by them. Even cultivated sunflowers, common as they were to Pawnee agriculture, were scarcely mentioned or not mentioned at all in accounts by these white men. Another crop, still less known to white men, might easily have escaped notice entirely. If they saw fields of it growing, they probably, not being acquainted with it, considered them to be old neglected fields "gone to weeds."

While maize and other vegetable products provided the bulk of the diet, animal food was also very generally used. Of particular importance was the bison, hunted not for its flesh alone, but also for the hide, hair, sinew, horns, and even the hoofs. Archeologically, the bones of this animal are by far the commonest in Pawnee sites, and byproducts, such as horn spoons and haircloth, are by no means unknown. Further, the dire straits into which the tribe was thrown by failure to find the herds shows very clearly how heavily the Pawnee leaned upon the bison economically, even with their fields of maize.

Two great tribal hunts were staged each year by the Pawnee, a practice followed also by the Oto, Omaha, Kansa, Osage, and other neighboring tribes of similar cultural status. Immediately after the second hoeing of the corn, which took place about the middle of June, the entire tribe departed on the summer hunt, returning in September to harvest the corn and other crops. Toward the end of October, after the corn had been cached, they set out on the winter hunt, the Skidi moving westward to the forks of the Platte, while the other bands proceeded southward to the Arkansas.[35] Early in April they returned to the permanent villages in time for the corn planting. The favorite hunting grounds lay in what is now western Kansas, between the Republican and Arkansas Rivers, necessitating a trek of from 400 to 900 miles on each hunt.[36] An additional incentive for the long winter hunt appears to have been the need of finding sufficient forage for the horses.[37]

The meat was eaten fresh whenever possible, every hunt being a period of heavy feasting. Great quantities of meat were cut into strips and dried in the sun to form "jerky." This was later eaten raw or else was cooked with corn and beans into a sort of stew or thick soup. The tongue and heart of the bison were usually sacrificed to the spirits. Long says that the tallow was also used, particularly in cookery. According to Allis,[38] "The most delicious dish with them is the young taken from the buffalo they kill."

Among the other animals commonly used as food, Allis[39] names elk, deer, bear, beaver, otter, raccoon, and badger. The jaws and

[35] Ashley and Smith, 1918, pp. 119–121.
[36] Dunbar, 1880, b, pp. 327–328.
[37] Long, 1823, vol. i, p. 447.
[38] 1887, p. 140.
[39] Ibid.

356 roof of their house. He noted that seven of the radial timbers were rotting, and he remarked that they needed replacement. Old Bull made no comment, but he knew that they would carry on this enterprise together. During the winter buffalo hunt, each of them killed a buffalo bull so that [283] they could keep the hides to make rawhide strips for use when the roof [237] was rebuilt the following spring. Around the smokehole, fastening the radial roof rafters together, were two stout willow hoops, one on the inside and one on the outside. These were tied in place on the radial rafters with the rawhide strips. It was this mechanism that gave the symmetrical form and strength to the whole cone of the roof, and the tying was therefore important. At the same time as the hides were obtained, the women [251] made sure to dry plenty of buffalo intestine so that they would have [262] enough to make soup for the volunteers. While the bison hide was still [281] fresh, the women removed the hair.

Now during the spring Victory Call and Old Bull kept an eye out for 356 elm trees from which they could strip the bark to use in tying on the wil- 314 low circuits around the roof frame. A cut was made near the bottom of 283 the elm tree so that the bark could be loosened; a strip about two inches wide was ripped upward from the bottom. Five or six strips were taken from each elm. The strips were dried and stored until the actual time of building, when they were soaked in water and used wet so that they would make a tight bind when they dried in place. It took a large number of these elm strips to fasten the circuits in place around the roof.

356 Now Victory Call went into the timber to locate seven suitable wil- 313 low trees. The next day he returned with his wife, White Woman, and his retainer, Horse Rider. The trip to the Loup River was five or six miles. Victory Call cut down the trees with his axe, and Horse Rider and White Woman proceeded to lop off all the branches with a hatchet. After the trees were cut and the branches removed, they went home. Next day White Woman and Horse Rider returned and began to remove the bark, hacking it off from stub end to point; the man worked with an axe, the woman with a hatchet. Two trees were debarked, and they returned until they had finished the seven. After debarking, the poles were left in the timber to season for three days.

356 Meanwhile, without further discussion, Old Bull had gone off to look 313 for willow withes to make the circuits. When he got home he remarked to his younger wife, Clear Day, "There are some nice willows down at • 824 Beaver Creek. Tomorrow we can go out and cut them." In the evening when Victory Call and the others got home from the Loup where they were fixing the radials, Old Bull remarked that he had been looking around and had seen some willows and that the next day they were going to cut them. Queen Woman and Old Lady Blue Calico of the South Side decided that since the women of the North Side were working so hard on the construction work, they would take over all the cooking for the family.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
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the family. Hauling in the materials was a considerable task. The two families were fortunate in having enough horses so that two could be used to transport the seven radials over the six-mile journey in one day. These radials were leaned outside the house against the roof until needed. It required a wagonload or four large double armfuls of the willow saplings to make the circuits. These had to be hauled in from Beaver Creek about a mile away, a task carried out by Old Bull and his wives.

With these materials in place, Victory Call went out prospecting for thatch grass. He had to travel five miles southwest of the village near the Loup River where the grass grew near the edge of the timber in a little hollow place with some sand hills. Nearer the villages, the horses had eaten it up. That night the women on the North Side, White Woman and the two grandmothers, sharpened up the edges of their buffalo shoulder-blade hoes so that they could cut the thatch grass next day. No Corn, Horse Rider's older wife, was crippled with arthritis and was unable to do that type of work. She remained at home and did necessary household chores. Meanwhile, the women on the South Side continued to provide the meals for all of them. Next morning the two men and three women went with their two horses to the grass patch. The women cut the grass and the men saw that it was properly piled up. The grass was gathered into five bunches, each 3 feet high, the layers being laid down, one layer with stub ends one way, the next layer with pointed ends in the same direction so that the bundle would be even in thickness. The grass was tied into tight bundles and loaded one on each side of the horse. The two horses were loaded, White Woman packing one of the bundles, and when they arrived home the grass bundles were placed next to the bundles of willow withes and weighted down with sticks so that they didn't scatter in the wind. The materials were now ready and they could arrange for the actual construction.

Arrangements were now made to move in with other families until the roof was fixed. Old Bull spoke to their neighbor, Coming-Downhill-Bringing-Trophies, whose house was located just across from theirs, and Victory Call made arrangements with Chief's Road whose lodge was right next door. There was a friendly relationship between the households of Victory Call and Chief's Road. Chief's Road had the social rank of commoner, but he was a very successful warrior and hoped that someday his ambition to be an administrative officer would be realized through his friendship with Victory Call. He hoped that should Victory Call become head chief of their village, he would select him as his official brave. He was the most skillful arrowmaker in the Skidi Band, and he often made arrows for Victory Call and rendered him many other services. Victory Call returned the courtesy with gifts of wood for fuel and portions of meat from his hunting. The children of the two lodges also played together. Chief's Road had the lodge with his brother, and

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773 796 782 [821] [787] to kill a fat buffalo cow whose tongue and heart would be dried and used in the sacrifice ceremony.

Returned from the buffalo hunt, the diligent search of the Morning Star priest was rewarded when one morning the Morning Star arose ringed in red, giving the signal for the ceremony to begin. The warrior visionary was notified to clear out his lodge as the ceremony would be held there. The lodge was prepared, the warrior was dressed in a special costume for this role and the girl was brought in and dressed for her role. Then the scaffold was built and the sacrifice carried out. These proceedings occupied five days from the time the Morning Star gave the signal.

In the visionary's house all the beds were cleared out and a new fire of cedar logs was built. The Morning Star priest brought in the bundle in order to costume the visionary: around his waist a long belt of otterskin with sixty-five scalps taken in war, symbolizing war, death, and also the renewal of life, as the otter is the first animal to come up from the water after the winter ice and take the first breath of life for the year; a feather to place in his scalplock; and a war club to hold in his hand. So dressed he ran through the village calling on his relatives for contributions of new mats, food, and wood for the ceremony. The women came bringing mats, wood on their backs, cooked corn, and buffalo meat. Four long poles of special kinds were obtained to place radially in the fireplace extending outward in the semicardinal directions and meeting at the middle. They would last for the four day ceremonial period, being pushed inward as they burned down. Each was a different kind of wood appropriate to the semicardinal direction in which it was pointed: elm, northeast; boxelder, southwest; cottonwood, northwest; willow, southeast. The willow stood for death like the death star and at the same time the renewal of life in the spring. At the altar of sacrifice, willow and otter would be fastened together to express this symbolism.

[292] [825] [823] [824]

The ceremonial lodge in order, they were now ready to begin the first day's ceremony. The chief of Village-across-a-Ridge (*Turwahukasa*) that owned the Morning Star bundle, entered and seating himself at the northwest, inquired whether they were ready to receive the Wolf man and the girl. On the south side of the lodge there was a large buffalo bull robe with two cushions on it for them to sit on. As they entered, the man suffused the girl with smoke from the burning sweetgrass and then he "incensed" himself. The Wolf man sat on the southeast of the two cushions, the girl at his left with her bowl and spoon before her, the visionary at the south. Others came and seated themselves according to rank and the direction of their celestial bundle powers in the firmament, and there were several old men who were to talk to the girl and the Wolf man whenever there was a pause in the proceedings. Each one had suffused himself with sweet grass smoke as he entered and painted himself

with red buffalo-fat ointment. Four circles were made on the ground one in each of the semicardinal directions to symbolize the four quarters of the universe that the Morning Star had to pass as he approached the Evening Star. The circles were made by a man who stood in the middle and extended his toe as far as possible, drawing his foot on the ground as he turned. The tracks were filled with soft down feathers from the bundle. The priest smeared himself with red buffalo-fat ointment and suffused himself with sweet grass smoke. The actual ceremony could begin.

The priest of the Evening Star bundle sang the first part of the ritual and after a pause, the Morning Star priest took charge. He sang two songs. Then they had their meal. The Wolf man opened the next phase, bringing the girl to the altar where she was anointed by the priest with red ointment given to him by the war leader. They returned to their seats and the ceremony continued all night. The second day's ceremony was of the same kind. On the third day they continued to sing and dance, the war leader beginning the dance and then being joined by the others. The war leader took up the northeast pole from the fireplace with the fire still burning on its end and pointed it at the girl without touching her, first toward her right side then toward her left. Next he took first the southwest pole following the same procedure, then the northwest pole and then the southeast pole, following the prescribed order. Now, on the third day, the crowd of spectators became heavy and began to push into the lodge and tear holes in the roof so that they could witness the proceedings.

While the ceremony was going on in the lodge the priest gave directions for the preparation of the sacrificial scaffold. He sent men to find a suitable location a mile or two east of the village with a ravine or a series of dips in the ground to the east of it where the attacking warriors could hide during the ceremony. Wood for each part of the sacrificial frame had to be of special kinds: cottonwood for the two uprights; the four crossbars near the bottom serving as steps, each symbolizing one of the four semicardinal directions, the bottommost elm, then box elder, cottonwood, and willow, each associated with an animal power. Elm represented the bear and the northeast; box elder, the mountain lion and the southwest; cottonwood, the wildcat and the northwest; and willow, the wolf and the southeast. When the men reported back to the priest that they had located the wood, he gave them four strips of animal skin, each one of the appropriate animal with which to tie the crossbars to the frame. Near the top of the two uprights was another crossbar of willow, symbolizing Heaven, which was tied on with otterskin to symbolize the renewal of life. They were instructed by the priest to dig a rectangular pit under the scaffold in area about the size of a buffalo robe commonly used to wrap a sacred bundle and 5 inches

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The tobacco was always mixed with the inner bark of the red dogwood (*Cornus amomum* Mill, pictured in Gilmore, 1919, plate 22.) The outer bark was removed and the fragrant inner bark scraped and dried for smoking, mixed with the tobacco. The red color of the bark appeared in winter. In 1867 the tobacco the Pawnees used was all gotten at the trade store, but in former times the men raised their own in specially prepared patches. The native tobacco, formerly cultivated by all the tribes of Nebraska was *Nicotiana quadrivalvus* Pursh. For the summer hunting expedition the men had to be sure to have plenty of tobacco in their pouches, and they took along the dogwood while it was still unripe so that it would cure along the way. A man would take a sackful about 1½ feet high and a foot in diameter included with their other supplies.

They had to be sure that the horse gear was all in order as much would depend upon it, particularly for packing the luggage. If a new saddle had to be made, they would have to scrape a deer hide and get a horn. A saddle for packing had to have four long rawhide strings, two in front and two in the rear, for tying on the packages. The packages that were tied to the sides of the horse were of standard size. They were large rawhide envelopes, 2½ feet long by 1½ feet wide and a foot deep, designed to hold the thinned and dried meat of a whole buffalo, but were also used to carry other types of luggage, particularly foods. The soundness of the rawhide straps on the saddle was vital as should these break while they were crossing the water, the food would be ruined. They checked the stirrups and provided themselves with plenty of rawhide rope for hobbling the horses.

For clothing, they had to take along blankets and some broadcloth for the women—possibly some dresses. Moccasins wore out frequently on the march. A sewing bag with sinew, awl, and moccasin patterns was an essential item of luggage.

Sacred objects had to be carefully carried and tended by the women. Sometimes a woman would carry the sacred bundle she was caring for on her back, and sometimes it would be placed on top of the other luggage on the horse. Depending on their particular tradition, some of the bundles had to be placed on top lying the long way and some lying across.

The bulkiest item was the food. This consisted of dried vegetables, dried buffalo meat, and some trade-store items—flour, baking powder, coffee, sugar, and dried prunes, apples, and peaches—all highly concentrated foods. These were included in the standard rawhide envelopes. The journey to the hunting grounds took about twenty days. By that time many of the vegetable foods were used up and the envelopes would now be available to pack the newly dried buffalo meat. The main vegetable provisions were dried kernels of corn that had been removed from the cobs. The corn was treated in two basic ways during the harvest: One batch was gathered early while still "in the milk" and the ears were

Star. If during the night one had dreamed a bad dream, one might swallow a great deal of water and regurgitate it before eating. 484* 512 [787]

White Woman was making the grease bread and No Corn was making the coffee. During these preparations, Victory Call sat by smoking his pipe.

By the time Horse Rider was through bringing in the horses, breakfast was ready. After they had all eaten, the women cleaned the dishes, using the plant known as water string or "false indigo" (*Amorpha fruticosa*, Gilmore, p. 93) to rub on the dishes and buckets to sweeten them while washing. This plant grew close to the creeks with its roots in the water; the leaves and stems were used and the roots discarded. In winter, strips of the bark were taken from the dry stalks. False indigo was invaluable, particularly on the march; you might find nothing but boggy water in a depression and the plant would freshen it. It could also be used to make palatable meat that had a gamey flavor like wildcat, by boiling it in two waters with the plant and pouring off the water each time, after which it could be cooked in the ordinary way and tasted good. The plant was spread on the ground while butchering to keep the pieces of meat clean. [264] [824] [263]

The dishes having been cleaned, they were ready to dismantle the camp and load the horses. Two or three old ladies were waiting nearby for Grandma to join them. They would set out at once to get an early start, carrying a little ration of pounded up sweet corn and sugar to sustain them on the way. [262]

As soon as they had eaten, the two men saddled up the horses while White Woman prepared to dismantle the tent. She shook the tent pegs loose and pulled them out, then began to fold over the tent cover while it was still on the frame, first pulling one side around to the back and folding it over and then the other side; pulling down the "backbone" pole with folded cover on it, she untied the stick where it was attached at the top and bottom and put it aside. The tent skin was then folded down the middle lengthwise and evenly rolled from the bottom end toward the top, then tied around the middle with the string that was there for the purpose (see Figure 19-1). Additional ropes were used to tie the roll securely across the ends. Now White Woman dismantled the wooden frame, and the poles were divided evenly so that they could be tied to the horse's back in two even bunches. 484* 512 342 492

Only the oblong rawhide containers were now left standing, as they had been placed next to the back wall of the tent. Meanwhile No Corn had been rolling up the bulrush mats that were on the ground and tying them in the middle with the strings that were provided there. She was also rolling up the blankets. 484* 512

Now that everything had been dismantled in the camp, the next job was loading up. The horse was brought around close to where the containers were. Horse Rider and No Corn stood on one side and Victory Call 484* 512 492

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kats-taraha, "medicine-buffalo," because it is found only in areas where the buffalo are. It is like quinine. It is also called *kats-taxkata*, "medicine-yellow," because of the color of the long root. Even on a hot day it has a cooling effect when chewed. It makes one salivate and relieves thirst when there is no water available. The men tied their horses to the grass and collected what they needed. Cicely was hard to get except in this area. They also collected quite a lot of sand cherries. They started home when it was nearly sundown and when he had taken the saddle off his horse at his own tent, Roaming Leader went to report at the council tent. There he told the Chief of Police, Strikes-the-Enemy, what they had seen and that there were no buffalo anywhere. The scouts of the South Bands had gone east and north over the land the people had traversed to see if the enemy were tracking them from the rear. From the report that no buffalo were to be seen, White Eagle decided that they had best move anyway. They all started out very early in the morning. By about sunrise all the horses were loaded up and the old ladies were already on their way. The advance scouts had gone ahead to protect them. Others had gone out to locate the herd. The place of encampment was on sort of an embankment with the water at the foot of it. The timber was a little distance away. Of the Skidi villages, Bottomlands and Wolf-in-Water were near the edge and the children could jump right into the water; the other two villages were located a little to the south.

The young men who had been out scouting all day came directly to the council tent. They had a bad report to make. They said, "You want buffalo. Well they must have gone east. We're getting to Sioux country. As far as we could go, we saw no buffalo." White Eagle decided to enlist supernatural help. He called in the four official scouts of the sacred bundle, the *periksu*, and he called in the priest, old man Angry Horse, to come very early next morning while it was still dark, to smoke the ceremonial pipe with them and give them instructions. Meanwhile White Eagle also decided that the camp had better move still further west to a place about nine or ten miles away on the other side of where the stream, *Kitsa-waku*, "Stream-Noisy," empties into the Republican (Post Hunt Camp 2).

"This is a fine place to swim with clear water," said White Eagle. "It is a wide, rocky stream, the water making noise on the rocks." They followed a buffalo path, the line of march crossing over where the buffalo had made a path leading down to the stream and up on the other side. The South Bands camped as soon as they got across; the Skidis had to go further west.

Very early that morning the old priest Angry Horse had gone through the camp and assembled the four official scouts in the council tent and sent them off on their mission. There were three other men who decided to do some scouting on their own and possibly locate a lone

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from whom they could well steal horses, and some young men thought they would like to go to the Osage country. The women of their household would outfit them with three or four pairs of new moccasins, tanning some hides especially for the purpose. Each pair would be filled with supplies—pulverized dried meat, parched corn, and dried meat. The young man would have a large flat package, especially wide to carry on his back with straps across the chest to carry his baggage. Under his belt he carried his tobacco and his pipe, and every time he sat down while he was on the warpath he must smoke. When he went off to steal horses he hung his flat-package on a tree and sometimes did not get a chance to retrieve it at all.

In Victory Call's household, they had gotten eight hides. A small one would be tanned by White Woman to get supplies at Fort Kearney. One was reserved for Mr. Bishop, the trader near home, to whom a good one had been promised before they left in payment for supplies Victory Call had obtained at his store for their journey.

While they were going east along the Platte River after their arrival two camps west of Fort Kearney (Camp 8), the village scouts came back with their report of how things were back home. They came in directly to the tent of Leading Chief who now had charge of their return journey and reported:

> We went down to the village. We couldn't go in, it was full of fleas. Toward evening we went to the different corn fields. The corn is pretty ripe in some places. The pumpkins are hard yet. There are lots of beans of all different kinds. One fellow got on a freight and went to Columbus to see how the Stay-at-Homes were. Everything looks good. From there we went to the school. We gave the children some pulverized dried meat and some plain. We told them you folks were coming home. We stopped in Bishop and Matlock's store for the night and said it would be about eight or ten days before we got to the village. Everyone looks all right.

Now Know-His-Face went through the encampment, announcing this message to all. In one of the other bands a rougish old lady called out "And how about the sunflowers? How are they doing?" The boy said, "The sunflowers are way high!" The byplay is that the sunflowers were the place where clandestine affairs were carried on. These grew as weeds in the boundaries between the fields.

One of the scouts brought five or six ears of corn that were ripe from different fields, and gave them to the ones to whom they belonged. One ear had come from the field of Otter's grandmother, and before she took off the husks she blessed him with it four times. Then she removed the husks, roasted the ear in the coals, and broke it into three pieces, one for

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512 173 243 people went on the hunt and still the corn lay there. A man going through the village heard someone talking. He thought there must be another man in the village. But he followed along to where the voice was coming from and got to the sweepings. There lay the good ear of corn. He stopped and picked it up and began to talk to it. He asked it to bless him and send him good luck for this corn is our Mother. He kept that ear of corn. That's how it was in the old days. Now since you've been wasting, the corn will become scarce."

512 243 251 252 That evening they husked the dry corn and continued next day until about two in the afternoon. Then it was left spread out to dry on the cob until evening and pried off after supper with a stick. Some men joined them and helped and after the women had gone to bed they continued to pry off the kernels, telling stories while they worked until late in the evening. The next day the shelling of the dry corn continued and that afternoon the men just wandered about the camp for a little recreation. Horse Rider had gone down to the grounds to watch the gambling. The women were tired and lay down to rest; their hands felt cramped from prying off the kernels.

[285] After they had collected the dry corn from No Corn's field, the women alternated work on it with making pumpkin mats as the strips were now dry enough. Then they proceeded to get the small nubbin ears for fattening the horses and collecting the sweet corn and braiding it to finish off the work.

356 887 While they were doing the pumpkins, the old ladies had already made a plan to go up and begin the process of clearing the earth lodge in anticipation of the time when the harvest was done. They had to go up at intervals of four days successively and burn out the fleas with torches. "These fleas bite worse than bedbugs!"

The three old ladies met at the lodge in the morning as planned. They removed the brush that had been placed across the door to seal it before they left on the hunt. They took off their clothes and put on an old petticoat. They made a brush or short broom of dry *pakuts* (thatch) grass and tied it to a stick. Then each woman took her brush inside the lodge and lit the grass, each one going around one side of the room and being careful to stay near the floor as the dry grass in the roof thatch might catch fire. When the grass was burned up on their broom, they put some more grass on it and repeated the process throughout the day. They repeated this four days later, and then on subsequent days.

[824] They built a little fire in the fireplace and burnt some wild sage, kiwaut, (*Artemisia gnaphalodes* Nutt.) as incense to clear the air and make the room smell good. They would also burn some of the sage on their brooms along with the other grass. After the final smoking, they left the lodge empty for a day and on the following evening the lodge was quite habitable.

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796 each one. The second part of the ceremony consisted in the recitation by a chief of certain events in the creation ritual that represented the essential nature of the world.

In the first episode, the four war parties went out for the poles. When everyone was assembled, four warriors took positions at the semicardinal [292] places. Each was dressed in full regalia. He wore an otter fur collar, a sacred ear of corn on the left shoulder, and a hawkskin on the right shoulder. On the head, each wore a ball of white down feathers and, transversely in the scalplock, an eagle feather. Each element of their costume had a symbolic meaning—the otter collar, awakening of life in the spring; the ear of corn, Mother Corn to guide them over the world; the hawk, to symbolize strength and fierceness; the eagle feather in the scalplock, Heaven during the creation; the white downy feathers, the clouds [302] on which he rode. Their faces were painted with red streaks along the sides and a bird's-foot mark on their foreheads which was also the name of a constellation in the Milky Way. Each warrior carried a war club and a pipe from one of the leading sacred bundles.

While the warriors were being costumed, four scouts had gone in four different directions to locate the trees for the posts. The White Pole [824] was located in the southwest direction and was a cottonwood. The Yellow Pole was found in the northwest and was a willow. The Red Pole of the southeast was a box elder, and the Black Pole of the northeast, an elm. The warriors came outside the enclosure and danced in their appropriate positions and a group of people gathered around each of them. The warriors now led their parties in their different directions and were met by their respective scouts who reported that they had located an enemy standing among the timber. Each warrior now led his party as if stealing upon an enemy. When the tree was sighted, they rushed in and the first man to reach the tree acted as if he were touching an enemy in battle, meriting a special war honor.

[782] Standing at the east, the warrior made a smoke offering to the tree. Then he carried the smoked-out pipe to the west where he deposited the ashes. Then another man, in similar fashion, made an offering of buffalo meat. Then a virgin took up her ax and symbolically cut down the tree. She motioned four times in each of the four directions, cutting off a chip in each. The tree was then actually cut down by her uncles and brothers amid the shouts of the people. As the tree fell they made as much noise as possible.

Now the warriors took up the tree and started toward the village, the [831] crowd following. On the way in they stopped to rest at four different intervals when they were beset by old women who encircled them making suggestive remarks referring to sexual intercourse and speaking of sexual acts as deeds of war. None of these remarks were personal. When the party tried to bring the pole into the enclosure, someone blocked

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513 disarranging the bedding. In the warmer weather, a mat might be placed on top of the skin as a "sheet." In addition to these appointments, some of the beds had an additional screen of willows built in front of them to make them especially private. Some married women preferred these—in this household for example, White Woman and Old Bull's older wife, Queen Woman. These screens, *kawiriwisisu*, were a permanent part of the bed structure. Six tall uprights were fixed in the ground, reaching from floor to ceiling, and across them close together were tied on with willow bark, 6-foot-long horizontal willow saplings. The horizontals were laid in alternate order, one with the stub end to the left and its point end to the right, and the one above it in the opposite position to ensure evenness. These were gathered in spring, peeled, and the irregular stems or knots cut off. Before they could be fastened to the uprights, they had to be briefly seasoned for a few days so that they would be neither too green when they would shrink too much and leave the fastenings loose, nor too dry, when they could not be properly straightened out in place. For decorative effect, six black were alternated with six natural horizontals, the peeled saplings being passed through a decoction of sumach that had been boiled to make a black dye. After all the horizontals were tied in place, they were trimmed off on both edges to make the screen even. The entrance through the screen was made by cutting a low narrow opening in it at bed level, the vertical for this portion being hung from the roof.

352 322 824 [531] [386]

353 As for the rest of the furnishings of the house, the buffalo skull had been left resting on the altar at the west and above it they now hung whatever sacred bundles they had. To the east of the fireplace they set up the bracket from which the pot was hung over the fire to boil. This was a forked stick stuck in the ground at a slant or having a natural curve; to one arm of the fork a wooden hook was suspended by a rawhide strap that could be raised and lowered by winding, depending on how close to the fire they wanted the pot to hang.

Against each side, on the east wall, was a woodpile supported by two tall forked sticks stuck in the ground. A little farther along the wall, leaning against it was a tree trunk with lopped off branches from which strings of braided corn were hung.

512 353 Now as the women were through with their cleaning, examining the beds and generally getting things in order, they brought in the parfleches of meat and the bags and placed the twined-woven rush mats on the floor. Two mats were put down on their "side"; the better one near the west end and the more worn-out one near the east. Some pumpkins were stored on the intervening platforms between the beds, some were placed under the beds and others on the floor near the doorway. One of the parfleches had been placed in a handy position and left open as it contained current supplies. The rest were all closed up.

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Toward evening, Horse Rider made a fire in the fireplace and went to get water. Then No Corn cooked some dry meat for the family and began to prepare the "grease bread" when White Woman said, "Give it to me. I'll make it. You get the coffee ready." The South Side family had not yet moved back in, and White Woman sat in the southeast position to do the cooking and serving, passing the food around to the north. When they returned, she would take her place northeast of the fireplace for this purpose. After they had finished with supper, Horse Rider went out to get some water for the morning and then everyone went to bed, as they were all tired.

It took about a week to get the earth lodge warm and lived-in. When they first moved in, it was cool like a dugout. During the first week, in the evening about every other day, they made a small fire near the doorway and burned sage weed (*kiwaut*) so that the draft would carry in the fragrant odor and sweeten the air in the lodge. It was also a protection against evil spirits that might have entered while they were away on the hunt.

The day after they had moved in, Uncle War Cry had moved his family up from the camp. He came in and joined them for supper while his house was being set up by the women. He sat down next to Victory Call near the west and while White Woman sat down at the southeast doing the cooking, he said, "When we started out, we didn't have much. But now we've accumulated a lot of stuff—old moccasins and whatnot—old pots and pans. They're still trying to arrange things at home. A man just picks up his bow and arrows, but a woman always has all sorts of stuff she gathers up, like old horns. She says she'll make spoons of them." "Same thing here," said Victory Call. White Woman did not let these remarks remain unanswered. She said, "Of course you men don't know how to load things up. That's why you're always complaining of the amount of stuff we accumulate. If you could pack right, you wouldn't talk that way." War Cry, undeterred, went right on talking. "A woman picks up everything she sees. The women are working in my home. I don't want to get mixed up in it. Now I'm going, nephew (*tiwat*)." "All right," said Victory Call, and just after he had gone, he added, "He always has something to say to make a man laugh." The women comment, "Tomorrow we must pick out those beans we pulled up in the pods with our fingers. If we use sticks to thresh them, it'll make dirt outside the lodge. We ought to pick them by hand."

In the next day or so, Old Bull met Victory Call and said they wanted to move back into the lodge next morning. "That's good," said Victory Call, "you ought to be in by now. There'll be something going on soon." (He is referring to the Doctor Dance Ceremonies.) Victory Call tells his folks at supper that Old Bull is moving in next day.

The following morning the South Side family rode up to the lodge,

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tional as well as the physical structure of these animals. The device of animal impersonation by dressing up in animal skins and imitating their sounds and motions is universally reported for hunting peoples and must go back to the very dawn of man's history. It may be that some degree of self-induced trance or control of the prey in these terms may have been involved in these operations. In any case, an intense rapport with the animals was involved.

Each doctor developed his own "animal repertoire." We may be able to gain some insight into the relation between the doctor and his animal mentor from an actual case of a transfer of animal powers between two brothers who decided to make a fair exchange of their different knowledge.

Victory Call was anxious to get Bear knowledge from his older brother, Sitting Hawk, who was a leader of the Bear Lodge in the Doctor Association. One day when they were alone together he broached the subject. Sitting Hawk, however, was not willing to part with what he knew for nothing. He said, "I want something there on your side. We're going to trade." "You're my own brother," said Victory Call, "and you won't teach me for nothing?" "You're my own brother, too, and I know you won't teach me for nothing either," said Sitting Hawk. We should explain that Victory Call was the leader of a private doctor cult the *Raris-ta*, Dance-Deer or Whistle Dance involving the mescal bean that had become so prominent among the Pawnees that it was developing into a feared rival of the Doctor Association itself. Two generations before, this cult had been borrowed from the Wichita, the Caddoan-speaking kinsmen of the Pawnees to the south. Among other kinds of knowledge, rattlesnake power was involved in the teachings. It is hard to know what plants were involved in connection with the curing of snakebite or the control of the snakes. Members of the *Raris-ta* could handle a weed that was thought to be poisonous to other people, though there is no proof that this was the case. It was undulating in form like the snake itself. People were warned not to touch the plant unless they were members of the society. It was said of them that they had "snake-shot" or power, *rut-patsat-kuriraru*, "snake-shot-to-possess-or-own." Weeds associated with rattlesnakes have variously been identified from other tribes—a Mexican mentioned Dodder or Love Vine (*Cuscuta paradoxa* Raf.), saying that snakes took it into their dens for food; from the Dakota Indians there is a report that Bittersweet (*Celastrus scandens* L.) was known as snake food. The botanical identity of the Pawnee plant, however, is not known. In the cosmic mythology it was said that the jealous Fools-the-Wolves Star (Sirius) who had felt himself excluded from the original Council of the Gods, was angered when people told irreverent stores about Wolf or Coyote. Although in winter he couldn't control the situation, in summer he could enlist the aid of the Snake Star (Scor-

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pio), who would send the snakes on earth to bite the teller. There are many other indications in Pawnee mythology of the fear and respect the Pawnees held for the power of the rattlesnake.

Later in the course of our account of the doctor performances, we shall see that Victory Call did receive Bear knowledge from his brother, but first he taught him rattlesnake knowledge.

> One day Victory Call said to Sitting Hawk, "Well, let's go." If luck were with them they would find a rattlesnake right away. Sure enough, there sat a snake curled up with his head sticking up in the middle. Victory Call said, "Go ahead and catch it." Sitting Hawk thought, "It's going to bite me." The snake knew that Sitting Hawk was afraid of him. His fangs were sticking up and he was getting ready to bite. Sitting Hawk grabbed him by the neck. The snake felt cold on his arm. Sitting Hawk put the snake down and began to talk to him. He said, "That's what I wanted to know. That's what I wanted to find out." The snake said to Sitting Hawk, "I'm just like you. But you whip me and kill me for nothing. That's why, when you come in my path, I rattle to you to let you know I'm here. If you get out of my way then, I don't have to poison you. But when you come and abuse us, we must do something about it."
>
> Sitting Hawk now caressed Victory Call in blessing. The two men sat down and smoked a pipe together, offering puffs of smoke to the snake and talking to him. Then they went home and Victory Call gave Sitting Hawk some medicine to cure snakebite and showed him the weed it was prepared from.

Long after this time, when Sitting Hawk and Victory Call were dead and the tribe had moved to Oklahoma, Otter's older brother Fox Chief tried to transfer some rattlesnake power to him. But Otter failed from fear and hesitation:

> We two were walking along and we saw a big rattlesnake. Fox Chief told me to get hold of it, but I was afraid. Because of this, I would never have another chance. Fox Chief always had a little bundle of medicine in his buttonhole with fringes that hung down about four inches. He took a twig and chewed the end of it, dipping it in the medicine and then putting it near the end of the snake's nose. The snake relaxed and lay stretched out. He picked it up and put it in the crook of his arm so that it rested against the sheet that Fox Chief was wearing as a blanket. In this way he carried the snake home.
>
> When we arrived at his earth lodge, his wife was sitting in front on a mat making a pair of moccasins. He said to her, "I've brought you something to eat." She was very pleased until she saw what he had

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brought. She yelled, "Take that away!" "He's all right," said Fox Chief, "You people are foolish." "But he'll bite someone if you set him free in the village," said his wife. "No, he knows we live here. He'll go straight off to that rocky place over there." Then he released the snake and the snake went directly away without disturbing anyone. And so I lost my chance to learn—by not believing.

This story, told in Oklahoma in 1936, sixty years later, was sincerely believed.

With this confident knowledge of the herbs and roots connected with it, the doctors did cure the sick, combining what must have been some empirical observation of physical efficacy with personal influence and suggestion. It was this latter aspect that was the subject of their ceremony at this time and an affirmation of their faith in their calling.

Last of all they had to get the cedar tree that would stand just outside the Bear Booth to the west of its entrance. The bear and the cedar were associated together, and both belonged to the northeast direction. Their celestial affiliation was with the sun and moon. All the trees that were used in setting up the Doctor Lodge were brought in with a great deal of ceremony. The six cottonwood trees that had been used to build the animal booths symbolized the beaver, and the waters and were consecrated accordingly. To get the cedar, twenty doctors set out before sunrise for the Loup River where the cedar tree had been located the day before. The leader of the party carried a bearhide rattle.

On the return journey, they stopped halfway and practiced hypnotism on one another. The doctors who had remained behind in the lodge would try to prevent the incoming party from entering the village. One of the doctors was stationed at the top of the lodge to sight them as they were returning. The incoming party stopped in the timber and painted themselves so that they could rehearse in order to "put on a good show for the people of the village." They were sighted approaching from the southwest by the doctors in the lodge who went south through the village to meet them as they were about to enter and managed hypnotically to drive them back. The leader of the incoming party was sounding his bearhide rattle and the people climbed onto the roofs of their lodges to watch. The approaching party dropped the cedar, and, in their hypnotized condition some began to impersonate wolves, some deer, all imitating the motions of the different animals. As they came, one of the deer tumbled over, and the wolves tumbled on their noses and lay there kicking. Then they got up looked around dazed as they recovered from their trance. People came and threw offerings of calico and black handkerchiefs on the cedar tree as it lay on the ground.

Inside the lodge, Big Doctor stood ready to receive the cedar tree which was ceremonially treated and set down east of the fireplace while

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they ate a feast together. That evening, with a special ritual, it was stood in the ground next to the Bear Booth.

At the feast that afternoon, Big Doctor had given an accounting of how their meat supplies were holding up. Sixty rawhide containers of dried buffalo meat had been donated and these had to last for the whole proceedings. Including the present meal, they had used up fifteen. The doctors had been working for nine days. Two more were used cleaning the lodge of fleas, and, for the two days used in building the serpent, the turtle, and the witch woman, they had used up four containers.

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The question of wood for fuel also came up at this time. As the meal was coming to a close, the north errand man whispered into Big Doctor's ear that he should mention this matter in his closing speech, particularly as a number of chiefs were present at the session. Getting wood was normally the function of the women and now they would have to enlist the help of a considerable party of women to lay in a supply. The two chiefs present would tell the various members of their families asking the women to get wood for the doctors and then word would readily get around. Old Man High Water was also instructed to go from house to house soliciting volunteers, saying, "The doctors want you to go for wood for them." He was cautioned not to mention any particular amount lest the women feel they were being pressured into going. The chiefs would arrange to have scouts go out with the women to protect them. Other young men would go voluntarily and picket on the hills.

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756 796 [824] The doctors came in very early wearing only their moccasins and a loin cloth and carrying an ax. Before sunrise they were to go into the woods and get six cottonwood trees and a quantity of willow saplings to build up the booths. The cottonwood trees were symbolic of the beaver, and the trees were cut down with an involved ceremonial procedure. When the doctors had all assembled, Big Doctor, dressed in his buffalo robe with the hair side out and carrying an eagle-wing fan and a gourd rattle, said, "Now get ready!" They sang four songs, four rounds each, [533] and then Big Doctor appointed Sitting Hawk to lead the men into the timber. He also wore a buffalo robe with the hair side out and carried an eagle-wing fan, gourd rattle, and a pipe that had been filled with tobacco by Good Pipe so that he could perform the ceremony when they cut down the first cottonwood. Pipe Offering instructed him: "Go by the east agency road. Before you get across Beaver Creek, all along the north side, you will find good willows and cottonwoods and also some very small thin willows. Cut a good many of those. Now go!"

756 796 824 276 782 They all filed out behind Sitting Hawk, and when they got to the timber they found a good cottonwood and sat down around it to perform the ceremony. Sitting Hawk, who was seated at the west, pointed the unlit pipe toward the tree—first toward the top, then the middle, and then the bottom. Now he moved to the north side, again offering the unlit pipe to the top, the middle, and the bottom of the tree and so similarly at the east and at the south. The next step was an offering of the smoke from the lit pipe in the same manner. Squatting at the northeast of the tree he lit the pipe with a flint and proceeded by north to west where he directed puffs of smoke to the top, middle, and bottom of the tree and then at the other stations as before. After the pipe was smoked out, he made the same offering with the ashes, rubbing first his right hand along the stem up toward the top of the tree, then his left hand, then the same to the middle, sitting at each of the four cardinal directions—west, north, east, and south. He now handed the pipe to the man at his right (south) and instructed him to find a cottonwood just like the one before them and to treat it ceremonially in the same way. These two cottonwoods were to stand near the western end of the lodge on both sides (north and south). He now instructed Bringing Horses to take his men and get two more cottonwoods, one to stand in the north position and one to the south as representatives of the beaver. (The ceremony was performed only for the two cottonwoods that would stand at the west.)

756 796 824 Finally, two other men were sent to get two cottonwoods that would stand one on each side of the lodge near the east. These men simply cut down the trees and sharpened them at the stub end so that they could be stood up in their appropriate positions in the lodge. Meanwhile, Sitting Hawk went on with his ceremony for the two trees that were to

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stand at the west. After the smoke offerings, he made a series of cuts in the tree at the four cardinal points in the standard order—first at the west, then north, then east and then south, cutting it so that it would fall gently to the east where two men were standing to catch it so that the limbs would not break. They sharpened it at the stub end so that it would stand up in the lodge. All chips were gathered and either thrown into the creek or carried home and burned in the fire. After gathering as many willow saplings as they could carry, the procession for the Doctor Lodge set out with Sitting Hawk in the lead and two men each carrying the six cottonwoods, one at each end of the tree.

Halfway home, they stopped. They began to make animal motions and to try to hypnotize one another (*patsaku*, "shoot one another"). Some of them had their buffalo robes on, some did not. They made peculiar motions with their eagle-wing fans, touching the ground. Then some were knocked down and got up growling and grunting. One of them "hypnotized" another by trying to put a corn cob in his throat, making his mouth all bloody. Another attempted to put fish bones in someone's throat, with the same result. The victims vomited up these things without too much damage being done and continued to move along with the cottonwoods. When the little boys saw this they got excited and said, "Look at those fellows! Look at that big bear over there!" As they arrived at the village, they made a second stop and again hypnotized each other. Then they took up the trees once more and went toward the ceremonial lodge. As they were arriving, Big Doctor took up his gourd rattle and began to sing. They came in and when the singing was over, Sitting Hawk gave the pipe back to Pipe Offering at the west. The cottonwood that had been ceremonially gathered was carefully placed to the east of the fireplace with its stub end pointing west and the head end eastward toward the exit. The second "west" tree was placed in the same position beside it and the others in any order on the ground, nearer the entrance. Now Big Doctor, getting the pipe from Pipe Offering, smoked all the trees ceremonially, treating each one in turn as in the woods.

They could now proceed to build the booths. Meanwhile, the errand men did the cooking. First the six cottonwoods were erected, three on each side. Then the willow partitions and fronts were added. Everyone was arguing—"This is our lot; move over a bit." "Well, we have a lot of buffalo!" "Well, we have a lot of deer too!" The leaders stood on the inside directing the apprentices who were doing their work. The willows were all piled up on the north side of the entrance while they proceed with the job. At the southeast the errand men were preparing the kettle so that they could cook their meat. They had had nothing to eat all day. The wives of the four leading doctors had brought in four buckets of boiled dried corn kernels and set them down on either side of

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the southeast lodge pole. Sometimes a woman would come in and give the "boss" of one of the animal booths a gift of corn bread so that later on during the performance they would be permitted to sit near the booth and get a better view instead of crowding in at the entryway.

When the food was ready, Big Doctor spoke and told them they were going to interrupt their activity and eat now, and that they could resume their work later. He said that he himself would make the offering to the powers with the corn and save time. The errand men were instructed to distribute the food.

The meal over, Big Doctor said, "Now we have eaten. Now you can go and tend to anything you want to. But after that, return here and get back to work!" They went off home to take their extra dry meat to their families, to tend their horses, and to take a little rest before going on with the work in the evening. The four main doctors did not linger long away from the ceremonial lodge. They had to fix up the gourd rattles, drums, and other things. Old-Man-That-Chief who has elk (*pax*) power was too old to wander about. If he should want to go home, someone must lead him. Most of the time he remained in the lodge throughout the ceremonial period.

That night and the next they built the serpent, the witch, and the turtle. They worked at night when they would not be observed. The serpent would take a whole night, the witch and the turtle perhaps another night. They had to bring in quantities of clay from the river bottom to do all this modeling. Twelve of them did the modeling—the four doctors at the west, and Old Bull and also the son of the subleader at the north, Wonderful Old Bison; the son of Sitting Hawk, Misery; also Angry Horse of the Bear Lodge. Bringing Horses was called in by Pipe Offering to assist him. On the next night, after the serpent was done they divided up, six working on the witch woman and six on the turtle-fireplace. Then the skin cutouts of the celestial powers were hung in place and the two loon skins put before the altar. Finally they were to set out for the cedar tree. They followed the same kind of procedure as for the cottonwoods, except that only one tree was obtained on this occasion.

A suitable cedar had been spotted by Misery and Strikes-the-Enemy on the Loup River, and before sunrise the next day a party of twenty doctors led by Strikes-the-Enemy set out to cut it down and bring it back to the lodge. Symbolically the cedar represented the Bear whose celestial affiliation was with the sun and the moon. The cottonwood symbolized the Beaver and the waters of the earth. Strikes-the-Enemy led the party, carrying a bear-hide rattle. On the return journey, they stopped half way and had a hypnotic contest as described in Chapter 34.

When the party reached within four feet of the lodge, they halted and

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Big Doctor prepared to receive them and the tree on behalf of the Doctor Lodge. At his signal they came inside carrying the tree, stub end forward, and walked around the fireplace four times through south, west, north, and east where they stopped and placed the tree with its stub end touching the rim of the fireplace and its head end pointing toward the entrance at the east. 756 796 824

Pipe Offering made the offering of tobacco, smoke, and ashes with the sacred pipe to the three vital parts of the tree—the base, the middle, and the top as they had previously done with the cottonwoods. Meanwhile the errand men were sent outside to start to boil the dried buffalo meat for their feast. [782]

All this time the other doctors had remained inside their respective booths, only the officials of the Doctor Lodge conducting the smoke offering ceremony. These included the four doctors at the west, one doctor each at the north and at the south, one old man (*kurahus*) each, at the northeast and the southeast, and the two errand men, one on each side of the entrance way.

Now that the cedar tree had been brought into the lodge and received, it was time for all of them to eat. The doctors all came out of their booths and sat right down on the serpent as there was no other place to sit between the booths and the fireplace. Three buckets of boiled corn kernels had been donated and these constituted the first course of their banquet. As always, they had to share the food with the supernatural powers before it could be eaten by the people, and the serving followed an order that was determined by the particular powers they had called on for the occasion. After eating, the ceremony to stand the cedar in its place was performed and then anyone who wanted to could go home. 756 796 264

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796 789 787 ing" session that lasted late into the night. The successive fighting sessions on subsequent evenings were installments of a single fight in which a "magically produced" mescal bean is spirited away from its "owner" by various members of the Dance in turn until he finally succeeds in retrieving it and "swallowing" or rubbing it into his side so that it disappears from the scene "in possession" of the rightful owner. [824] The mescal beans are referred to as "horses" and when carried by a man on the warpath are supposed to assure him of success in capturing them. In the course of the hypnotic contest, the contestants are referred to as hostile tribes by their different tribal names according to the semicardinal "stations" where they belong. The rules of the game are that a person can only be attacked by someone who is in the diagonally opposite semicardinal station to the victim. This means that the *Northwest* possessor of the bean can have it spirited away from him only by an enemy of the *Southeast* and if he in turn passes it on to his ally on the *Southwest* then it will be retrieved only by the enemy on the *Northeast*. If the *Northwest* wants its bean back again, this can only be accomplished by a complicated maneuver in which the bean gets to the *Southeast* from which the *Northwest* can finally retrieve it. The Pawnee pictograph of a star is what to us is a simple equal-armed cross. The pattern of "fighting" described above is called "Making a Star," the complete operation of the diagonally opposite pairs, forming the pictographic "star" or cross. This star reference has an important cosmic significance. It symbolizes the Wolf Star, Sirius. As far as one can speak of such a deity at all among them, the Wolf Star is the Pawnee god of death and war. In the story of the creation legend, the gods forgot to invite the Wolf Star to their council, and he continued to harbor deep resentment against all of them, particularly being jealous of the Evening Star in the west and of Paruksti, the personified storm out of the west that the gods sent to inspect their handiwork when the earth was complete. On his journey of inspection to earth, Paruksti carried the people in a whirlwind bag. Whenever Paruksti was tired or lonesome, he set down the bag and the people came out, set up camp, and had a buffalo hunt. Then he gathered them up again and went on his way. Wolf Star in his anger placed a wolf on earth to follow after Paruksti, and, one day while Paruksti was asleep with his head pillowed on his whirlwind bag, the Wolf, thinking he would get something good to eat, gently lifted his head and dragged the bag out onto the open prairie. The people came out and set up camp, but were unable to get any buffalo in this barren place. They entertained the Wolf at a feast of dry meat, not realizing his identity. When Paruksti awoke and came over the hill they realized that the Wolf was an impostor and chased him, succeeding, as a result, in surrounding and killing him. But this did not please Paruksti. He told them that they would have to take the Wolf's

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skin, dry it, and make a sacred bundle of it and ever after be known as the Skidi or Wolf People. Moreover, that while the gods had intended that they were to live forever, since they had killed the first animal on earth, they had brought death upon themselves and also the men with their lances to make war. The Wolf Doctor played the major role in the sacrifice of the girl to the Morning Star (see Chapter 10). The actual name of the star was *Tskirixki-tiuhats*, Wolf-He-Is-Deceived. It was said that the star appears at times in the southeast just before the rising of the Morning Star and "deceives the wolves" who thus prematurely begin their howling to greet the morning when Sirius appears, without waiting for its true beginning with the rise of the Morning Star.

A further celestial connection of the Deer Dance is the control of rattlesnakes attributed to its members. Fools-the-Wolves Star has a celestial ally, the Real Snake (Scorpio) particularly during the summer time. Stories that the people told about the wolf or coyote were likely to be decidedly irreverent, and they refrained from telling them in summer because in that season Wolf Star would enlist his friend, Real Snake, to send the rattlesnakes on earth to bite the people.

The first five sessions of the Deer Dance ceremony have thus been occupied with a combined program in each session of "playing" and "fighting." The sixth night was given over entirely to "fighting," a second "star" battle ensuing over the mescal bean, in this case a bean belonging to the *Northeast* station, while the former combat originated at the *Northwest*.

With the end of this sixth session the first phase of the ceremony is completed. Here an apparently quite different motif enters the picture. Instead of war, we get a preoccupation with the growing crops. Until the fighting session is over, the members have been forbidden to eat green plant foods. At the banquet of the sixth session, they now have a vegetable stew of green corn, green beans, and pumpkins, all cooked in a kettle, which they ate with great relish, "the dry meat being hard to bite and the green stuff tasting good after being away from it." The corn and beans they had been permitted to eat up to this point were all dried and from last year's crop. While these two themes of war and the growing crops might seem opposed, the fact that the lifting of the taboo against eating the current crop is dependent on a session of intensive "fighting" is an indication of the basic connection in Pawnee thought between war and the fructification of the plants—a motif that also appears in other aspects of the theology and ceremonialism. Apparently the idea of fructification, as it came from the Wichita, pertained to wild plants rather than to cultivated crops, involving the maturation of the wild sage plant and the mescal bean, as well as the wild squash that was originally used for the rattle for which the Pawnee substituted the cultivated gourd rattle. The wild sage plant continued to be a major fea-

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796 824 825 The wild sage plant continued to be a major feature of the Pawnee Deer Dance ceremonial in the performances, and the entire floor was carpeted with the plant placed radially all around with the stub ends outward and the head ends pointing inward. The symbolism of the deer was maintained in the course of the performances when the performer would jump over the fireplace, from north to south and back again, and from west to east and back again, impersonating the deer in this way. Also in his closing speech, the leader told them that their Deer Lodge was now over and they were to follow their tracks home to the timber. They left, blowing their whistles all the way home, and the blowing could be heard all over the village so that the dance was sometimes referred to as the Whistle Dance.

796 789 536 After the sixth session, the "fighting" was entirely ended and the seventh, eighth, and ninth evenings were given over to illusionist sleight-of-hand feats of considerable intricacy, and the calendar eventually became so crowded that several performers might be performing simultaneously or with their performances overlapping. The rattling and singing would be begun at the southeast station, and sometimes no one would be inspired to get up and perform until the gourds and bows had reached a subsequent station in the clockwise round. In any case, if the spectators had not yet accumulated to a sufficient degree, some of the performers felt they wanted to wait "until they got a good crowd." The ceremony of the tenth day is entirely composed of a considerable series of sleight-of-hand performances.

796 756 578 At the time when Kind Warrior was its leader, the membership of the Deer Dance was becoming so considerable and the interest so great that the leaders of Doctor Lodge felt that it might develop into a rival organization to theirs. Sometimes when members were absent from the Doctor Lodge, others would go after them and finding them in the Deer Dance, would spirit them out, causing them to bleed at the mouth and desecrating the ground of the Deer Dance Lodge which had to be spotlessly clean and fresh. This almost developed into an open contest of power, which was finally averted when the doctors sent their apologies to the Deer Dance leaders admitting they had been wrong. At that period, the two ceremonies overlapped somewhat. Kind Warrior had taken a group of his members down to the pond where he summoned up a turtle, stating that if it came to an open fight he would go into the Doctor Lodge and, locking the entryway, make their turtle fireplace come alive. A report of this threat, finally brought the apology from the doctors.

The conflict was resolved at a later time, when Misery, son of Sitting Hawk, took over after Victory Call's death as leader of the Deer Dance and entered into an agreement with the leaders of the Doctor Lodge to hold his ceremony early, right after they arrived back from the summer hunt and before the Doctor Lodge should begin.

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and materials. European goods were first spread by itinerant traders who carried their wares to the different villages and centers and finally set up their own trade stores. Bishop and Matlock's was the favorite trade store for the Pawnees at this time, and the buffalo robe was the chief medium of exchange. The trade value of a well-tanned robe of ordinary quality was ten to fifteen dollars. For one of prime quality, expertly tanned, they might get thirty dollars worth of exchange goods. The national market of the trader justified him in paying these prices. In 1848, 100,000 robes were shipped out of St. Louis, and the American Civil War gave a special impetus to the buffalo leather trade for army needs. By 1874 even England was making use of the leather for its army. When supplies were running low in a Pawnee household, the man would point to an unworked buffalo hide and say to his wife, "Make up that buffalo robe so that we can get something at the store." In the past the same expedient probably served for trade with other tribes or villages.

The hair of the buffalo was intricately braided into a long rope known as Black Rope, which was used by the men to hold the buffalo robe in place as well as for other purposes. The horns provided the common eating and serving spoons and the bones were made into a number of important tools, notably the buffalo shoulder blade, which was the main spade or earth-digging tool as well as the hoe and the scythe. These bones also provided tools for skin working and for sizing and straightening the arrowshaft, as well as slivers for scraping and cutting. The sinews of the buffalo were used for sewing together the skins and for making bowstrings.

Second in importance as an industrial material was wood. In the open prairie plains, trees grew only along the streams. The supply was heavily drawn upon for fuel as well as for industry. Wood was used industrially for building and for equipment and utensils. Cottonwood and willow were the mainstay of the construction industries—the cottonwood because it was light for its strength and bulk and the willow for its flexibility. Elm was used for making the mortar and post oak for the pestle. They also used the post oak to make their common eating bowls. Dogwood was the material of the arrowshafts and ashwood for the bow as well as the gaming hoop and the pipestem. Wood was best gotten in the fall when the sap was running low.

Reeds and grasses were their third industrial resource. Grasses grew along the streams and reeds in the limited number of ponds to be found in the area. Since they matured about the same time as the cultivated crops, they had to be processed as soon as the harvest was over. The most important product they made from these materials was the large twined woven mat that they felt had to be spread on the dusty ground both in the earth lodge and in the tent while they were on the hunt. Next

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Next

in terms of common use was porcupine grass for making stiff brushes to keep the hair in order.

The areas in which the villages were located were lacking in two essential materials that they needed, clay and stone—clay for pottery and stone chiefly for cutting implements. In the past, the materials must have been obtained by men going into outlying territories on the warpath or by international trade. The best clay was found to the southwest of their area. By 1867 these materials had been entirely replaced by metal made up into trade objects. Even in the late 1830's brass kettles for cooking and metal buckets for water were used. Moreover in 1833 the Pawnees were trading brass kettles in quantity to the Kiowas. By 1928, no one could remember how to make pottery. Even in 1899 in Oklahoma, Grinnell got an account from a fifty-year-old man who had never seen pottery in use and knew of it only from his grandmother. This would place it well before the 1830's. Grinnell's (1925, pp. 255-256) description follows:

> . . . They were accustomed to smooth off the end of a tree for a mould. A hot fire was then built, in which stones were roasted, which were afterward pounded into fine powder or sand. This pounded stone was mixed with fine clay, and when the material was of a proper consistency, they smeared it well over the rounded mould which was perhaps first well greased with buffalo tallow. After the clay had been made of even thickness throughout, and smoothed on the outside, they took a sharp stone and made marks on the outside to ornament it. When the material was sufficiently dry, they lifted it from the mould and burned it in the fire and while it was baking "put corn in the pot and stirred it about, and this made it as hard as iron." This may mean that it gave the pot a glaze on the inside. In these pots they boiled food of all kinds.

Pawnee pots are known to us from archaeological excavations. They have a characteristic shape with a well-rounded bottom and full globular body so that they could be set down on the ground. They have a thick "collar" around the rim and/or a number of loop handles. The broad collar was usually incised with slantline herringbone patterns. Boiling was the main method of cooking among the Pawnees and for the most part the pot was suspended over the fire from the wooden bracket. The rim and loops on the rim were no doubt used for tying on a handle. Pots were placed directly on the coals mainly for cooking in large quantities.

In the matter of transition from stone to metal cutting tools, we must also look to the archaeological record. By 1867, although the bow was entirely of native materials and the shaft was made of local wood, the arrow point was of sheet metal, mainly fragments of barrel hoops roughed out by the blacksmith and filed down with a trade-store file to the desired form and sharpness by the hunter himself. The first com-

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diameter, and the round excavated fireplace in the center and the shape and insulation of the walls made it warm in winter. The life of a set of tipi poles was five to seven years, and within that interval three or four of them were likely to bend or weaken and have to be replaced. They used cottonwood, which was light and easy to carry, and as an alternative, cedar, which was also rather light. The best supply was on Grand Island in the Platte and the best time to gather these was on the return journey from the winter hunt.

The first task was to select the trees which should be 6 to 7 inches in diameter as they stood with the bark on. From their encampment on the island, Victory Call, White Woman, and Horse Rider would go into the timber, and when Victory Call had selected his first tree he would start to cut it down with the ax. When Horse Rider would come up, he would say, "Let me do that," and take the ax and cut it down in his place. Victory Call now went further to select the other trees and Horse Rider followed cutting each one down in turn. Now White Woman got to work on the felled trees, cutting off the boughs and branches with her hatchet so that the bare trunk was left with the bark on.

Now Horse Rider began to drag in the bare trunks to camp, while Victory Call cut down the fourth tree that they needed and White Woman got to work lopping off the branches. Victory Call now pulled in the fourth trunk, returning to camp with White Woman. With a good sharp ax this operation had taken them a total of half an hour for all four trunks.

Back at camp, they removed the bark and this took a good deal longer. If one person worked at it alone, it took two to three hours to remove the bark from one trunk of this kind. Two people working together on one tree could do it in about an hour and a half. While White Woman worked from the bottom upward with the hatchet, the other person could work near the top end using a knife, because the bark is softer near the top. It sometimes happened that White Woman was able to make a convenient flap near the bottom, ripping off a strip of bark up the whole length. Horse Rider or Grandma might be free to give White Woman a hand at this work. After the bark was off, the whole stick had to be roasted. All four were first debarked and then all four roasted at the same time. A little fire was made outdoors and each stick turned around in it until the whole length was roasted. To roast the four sticks in this way took about an hour and a half. Now they were left to cool and the ashes and burnt places rubbed over with a stick to remove loose cinders. The next step was to even their length. The stub ends had been sharpened to points, and these were placed together and the heads all cut off to the same length to make them even.

The new tipi poles were now tied together and transported back to the earth lodge where, tied together tight, they were fastened to the ceiling

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51

THINGS OF WOOD MADE BY MAN

The Bow—the Bowstring—the Arrow—the Pipestems—the Stone Bowl—the Individual Styles of Bowls

THE MEN MADE THE BOWS, arrowshafts, pipestems, and cottonwood water drums.

The Bow. In the past the Osage Orange (*Toxylon pomiferum*) was the most highly valued wood for bows. At this time they used ash (*Fraxinus pennsylvanica*) known as *kirik-taka*, "eye-white." Every man made his own bow, though some were more and some less skilled. Little boys also made bows of ashwood to shoot birds. Ashwood was best gathered in the fall, generally in October before they left on the winter hunt. The ashwood saplings were left sticking among the willows in the ceiling to season, until they got back in the spring.

It took two days to make a bow. By splitting it in two down the length, two bows could be made from one sapling, unless it were not quite straight, when only one could be made. In each case, the outer surface of the tree became the outer surface of the bow.

The shaping was done by heating the stick in the coals until it was warm throughout and pliable. Putting the foot on the middle of the outside surface, the two ends were drawn very gently upward, and then each end was recurved with the foot so that the bow had a wide shallow dent in its back. The sinew bowstring was fastened to one end permanently, and at the other there was a series of notches in the bow so that the string could be tightened when in use and loosened at other times. (See Figure 51-1.)

Once, after Victory Call had died, Otter's adoptive father caught a panther and decided to honor the boy by making him a quiver of it. Not

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276 463 531 324 pipe bowls to be made with five ridges to denote that they had sacrificed five buffalo, others three. A man who had a horse head carved on his pipe might do this to indicate that he gives away a lot of horses. On the other hand some people just had things put on their pipes "to be fancy."

276 824 322 To hollow out the wooden stem they burned out the pith with the same stiff weed used in making brooms, *kihax-piriwus*, "room-brusher," *Artemisia dracunculoides* Pursh., or fuzzy weed. The plant had a pleasant odor like sage which is also a variety of *Artemisia*. The weed was sharp and after the pith had been burned all the way through down the length,

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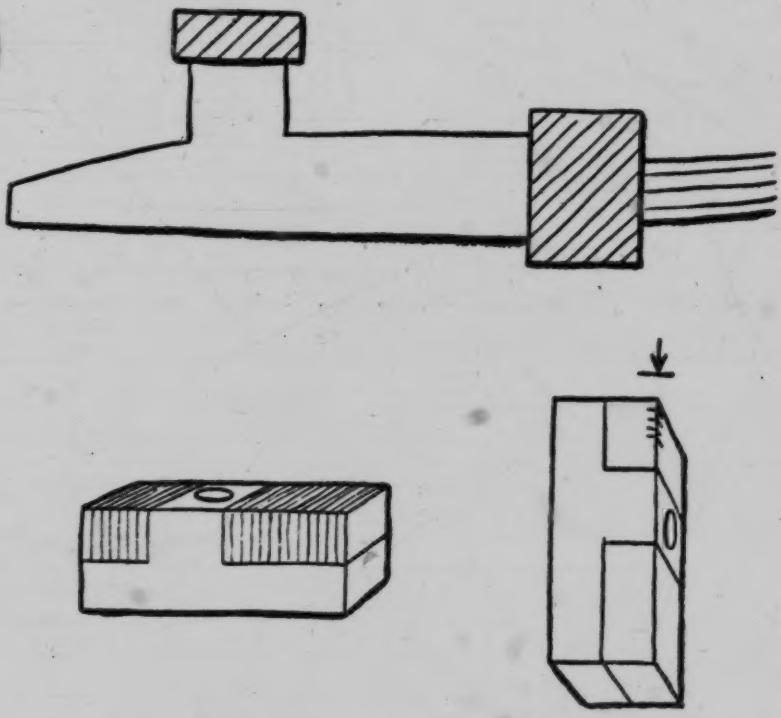

FIGURE 51-2. A pipe made by Brave Horse, *Asa-rahikutsu*, the bowl of red Catlinite or pipestone and the stem of ashwood. The first step of the pipemaker in fashioning the bowl was the marking off of the block with charcoal so that he could sculpt the bowl in the rough. Next the two blocks, one in front and one behind the bowl, were removed (hatched areas). In the old days this was a laborious task. There were no metal drills, files, or rasps; the two blocks of stone were chipped off from the outer edges inward piece by piece by sawing back and forth with a flint knife.

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the same weed was used to scrape out the inside. Then the man blew through the stem to remove the small pieces from the inside.

Making the Stone Bowl of Catlinite or Red Pipestone. (See Figure 51-2.) A block of stone of the appropriate size was marked off with charcoal so that the bowl could be sculptured out in the rough. Two blocks of stone had to be removed, one in front and one behind the upward projecting bowl. The removal of these two blocks was a laborious task. When no metal drills, files, or rasps were available, each step took a long time and required a great deal of patience. In the old days to remove the two blocks of stone, the "pipe" was set up on end and a flint knife was sawed back and forth across the corner, making a shallow cut. Then a second cut was made underneath it until a series of three or four shallow cuts had been made one beneath the other. These "corners" were then chipped off from the top edge down. This operation of chiseling off small pieces was continued until the whole block had been removed. Then the second block on the other side of the bowl was removed. All red powder resulting from the sawing process was saved to be used as red paint.

The bore for the stem as well as for the bowl was begun by using a well-dried, fire-hardened stick. The stick was held stable pressed onto the surface where the hole was to be and the stone turned back and forth until a hole had been dug into it. The bowl was widened and deepened by using a sharp sliver of a buffalo femur in the same way, pressing it into the stone and twisting the stone itself until the bowl was the shape and size desired. The outer surfaces were shaped by rubbing with a rough stone.

After the bowl was shaped, the pipe was passed through the smoke of a small grass fire and the surface rubbed with grease. This data on making the stone bowl is condensed from a demonstration by Charles Allen at Pawnee, Oklahoma, in 1935. It took almost eight days, working the usual day of nine to five o'clock with an hour for lunch.

Each pipe maker introduced special features of his own. Rarawikita, Charles Allen's father, made them so that there was a hump on the bowl near where the stem was inserted and the pointed end of the bowl was five-sided. Chief's Road made pipes with three raised ridges around the head end of the bowl where the stem was to be inserted. Sometimes the pointed end was cut down at a downward slant, sometimes it was cut straight off. Good Bear made a pipe that was thick where the bowl was and tapered markedly at the point end and again at the end where the stem fitted. Brave Horse (*Asa-rahikuts*, "horse-brave") would make a wide ridge or collar around the mouth of the bowl and another one at the opening where the stem fitted in; on these "collars" he engraved diagonals trending upward toward the left. He was a left-handed man.

For the work of manufacturing the pipe, pay was expected though never stipulated. This might be tobacco or calico and a little food. For

53

PRODUCTS OF REEDS AND GRASS

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The Twined Woven Mats, Their Use and Manufacture—the Grass Brush for the Care of Hair

THE REEDS AND GRASSES matured about the same time as the cultivated crops, and everyone knew that as soon as possible after completing the harvest they would have to get to work gathering these materials before they passed their prime. 824

The twined woven mat of reeds was one of the most important items of Pawnee house furnishing. It was considered indispensable to cleanliness, and only the poorest people or the most slovenly would use skins on the ground instead. They were used both in the lodge and on the march, and old mats were offered to people who had none. Every morning they were taken up and shaken to get the dust out; in the lodge the house was well swept and the sweepings carried out on a skin to be dumped at the base of the embankment before the mats would be replaced on the floor. When on the march, they were rolled up and tied in the middle with a string fastened there for the purpose by the women. When camp was set up, they were laid out to sit on; at night the beds were made on them. In the lodge they were placed inside the central pillars to sit on. Impromptu beds were made by putting them between the pillars at night as a base for the bedding. Each mat was 5 feet wide and 8 to 9 feet long. Ordinarily, there were two mats around the fireplace on each side; if there were special guests, an additional one was placed at the west. At a large feast, the mats were laid outside the house pillars against the beds to enlarge the circle. Mats for gala occasions had special decorations made by weaving in black or dark red-dyed wefts. These were kept rolled up until guests came. For everyday use the family sat on whatever mats happened to be around—the better ones being placed 285 352 [356] [513] [531]

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285 352 nearer the west and those that were more worn, east toward the exit.

When a couple was newly married, they were always given a set of 285 mats—two for each side of the house and one for the west. They were 585 likely to get two from the girl's grandmother and two from the boy's. 431 Except in such intimate circumstances, the mats were not ordinarily con- 352 sidered suitable gift items. They were regarded more as we look upon linens—particularly bedsheets and towels. Suitable gift items on the other hand were, from man to a man, a horse, and from a woman to a man, leggings, moccasins, material for moccasins, or dried buffalo meat.

285 352 The mats received the heaviest wear during the winter hunt, when they got all battered and broken up. In the fall, after the materials were gathered they were placed in the roof of the lodge to season all winter. In the spring, between planting and cultivating, they would feel they had to make some new mats to take along on the summer hunt. Old mats were left behind in the earth lodge.

285 283 The warp strands of the mat were of a three-sided prismatic grass that grew in ponds (not cattail?). The long blades were made into a double-twisted continuous rope of four strands.

[137] The wefts were of bulrush (*Scirpus validus* Vahl.), a round tubular grass, spongy inside, 5 to 6 feet long. An alternative material was cattail 285 (*Typha latifolia* L.). Both these reeds grew in the bottomlands of the • 824 streams, particularly along the Loup, but there were also a few patches along Beaver Creek. On the way home from the summer hunt, some people would gather the reeds on the Republican or the Loup and load the horses and bring them home. Or, noting good locations on the way home, they would return later.

Sometimes two old ladies would go out together and gather whatever small patches they could find on Beaver Creek, pulling up the reeds and piling them into two bundles about a foot in diameter. They would tie them up with ropes and each bring one in and go out again for more, ob- [482] taining about four bundles each in this way. The reeds were very heavy when green and a woman could not carry very much at a time. For larger supplies, the family would make up a combined expedition, since they had to go three to five miles from the village. A large party of men and women would ride out on their horses to the sources of supply they had spotted when returning from the hunt. The men went out to give the women protection. On the way back the horses were loaded with reeds. When one party went out, others would hear about it and be inspired to follow their example.

285 283 The weft or (crosswise) threads needed very little preparation to be ready for use. They had simply to be soaked in water overnight and then taken out and left to dry for about half an hour before weaving.

The long continuous lengthwise warp required considerably more preparation than the weft. The three-sided prismatic grass was soaked

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285 476 ticated adaptation for weaving a wide twined fabric, as the normal direction for the progress of twined weaving is from left to right, the woman on the left using a motor pattern equivalent in feeling to dancing the waltz in reverse, with a view to getting a visual effect in the texture.

When the mat had been woven about one third of the way, the women, who had been kneeling in front of the lower cloth beam, now moved up and knelt on the already finished fabric to work on the rest. As the work progressed, they continued to move up on the fabric so that the working edge would be within reach.

[461] Two women could finish a mat in one day if they did nothing else. Beginning after breakfast, the weaving would be half done by noon. By a little after five in the evening, the work was complete.

285 868 Mat weaving was a household craft and the work would not ordinarily be contracted for outside, unless a woman were learning for the first time. Then she would call in an old woman and pay her to demonstrate the technique. During the demonstration, the young woman would try her hand at it from time to time. The finished mat would be hers. The [465] teacher would receive four or five yards of calico and a layer of dried buffalo meat, or a sack of corn (about a foot high) and half a braided intestine mat.

285 592 In the household of Old Bull and Victory Call, each side took care of its own needs for mats. White Woman and Grandma would start one together, and when White Woman had to interrupt her work to prepare a meal, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy would take her place for a while, helping Grandma with the weaving. Any mats that Grandma made by herself were given to White Woman for the family. Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy felt she should make at least one mat for herself and her grandson to use when they went on the hunt. No Corn also made one to take along, and, if Horse Rider was busy in the Doctor Lodge, the two old ladies would each contribute half the necessary materials, as she was too crippled to gather them for herself and under the circumstances Horse Rider was unable to get away. There was no question of compensation for this, as the old ladies felt that Horse Rider was helpful to the household at all times and No Corn also did what she could.

482 285 Carrying these mats on the march was very difficult for people with no horses. This was the case with poor people. When people noticed that they had no mats, someone would give them an old one and a man would carry it on his back with a baby perched on top and his wife would do [431] the same. The occasional woman who was too lazy to make one, was also [356] given an old mat. People who didn't have mats to put on the ground were considered poor indeed.

412 824 A brush made of stiff grass was indispensable to personal grooming. The brush was made out of Porcupine Grass or Spanish Needles (*Stipa*

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spartea) known to the Pawnee as *pitsuts*. It grew like oats about 3 feet high near the village, above the cemetary where the Skidi buried their dead. White Woman would ask Victory Call to go and gather it for her in the fall. It had long stiff branches and at the tip of each branch there was a sharp point fastened at a joint and surrounded with wooly fluff. The point was broken off at the joint and discarded and the fluff cleared off. The remaining bristle was very stiff and formed the working end of the brush. The stems were grouped into four little bunches, each bunch bent over at the top end and fastened down with a wrapping of buckskin. The four bunches were put together with the bent-over ends inward, and the whole bound around with buckskin to complete the brush. In addition to keeping the hair in order, doctors would rub the brush on top of the head to relieve headache or sleepiness. As generally with the Pawnee crafts, there was no ceremony involved in gathering the material or in the manufacture, but the grass appears metaphorically in the Peace Pipe ceremony as symbolic of vegetation in general and of grasses in particular.

Everyone went to a good deal of trouble to keep the hair in order and to dress it attractively. The women's hair styles were relatively uniform. It was parted in the middle and made into two braids hanging down over the shoulders in front. The end of the braid was wound around with buckskin. A relatively recent style was tying the braids together and flinging them to the back. The men's hair styles were more elaborate and varied. A great many of the men wore roaches, a ridge of hair standing up along the middle of the head with the hair removed on both sides and a braid hanging down at the back. Most writers refer to this hair style as characteristically Pawnee, but the Pawnees themselves speak of it as "like Osages." In the old days, each hair had to be pulled out one by one. Later they used scissors. In former times, face hairs were also pulled out one by one with the fingers, while more recently they used a close coil of brass with a stick through it so that it would be tied to the belt. The oldest son of Victory Call by a former marriage, Sun Chief, had long curly hair that he wore in two braids, one over each shoulder. He was known as Long Hair or "Head-Hanging-Down-From." Victory Call also wore two braids, but on the right side, in addition to the braid, he had his hair cut in terraces. He was called "like Arikara" on account of it. War Cry never seemed to comb his hair; he wore it loose and was always brushing it back off his forehead. His younger brother, Brave Shield, pushed his hair up so that it stood up stiff in back. People who were shabby or ill-groomed were regarded with considerable contempt by the Pawnees.

The industrial knowledge of the Pawnee transformed the meager materials of the plains environment into a setting that was worthy of their religious and conceptual achievements. They worked hard but were so-

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

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An intensive "twenty-day" doctors' ceremony was also held in the other three South Bands at this time, although they apparently did not model the figure of the water monster. It was called by them *tawaru-kutsu*, "sleight-of-hand-big." (Murie, 1914, p. 602).

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See Murie, 1914, pp. 600-616, on private doctor cults as distinct from those with tribal or social functions.

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[782]

[184]

[752]
[726]

The Iruska or War Dance was performed in spring in May, but preparations had to be made for it in the fall in order to get the necessary buffalo meat for the banquets and more especially in order to raise a puppy for sacrifice. Murie has a long and detailed account of the vision of Crow Feather who directed the ceremony (pp. 606-616). According to Murie, this was an important ceremony of the Tsawi and Pitahawirata bands, the two collaborating—the Tsawi taking the north position, the Pitahawirata, the south. This ceremony was especially to shield a person from fire and to give knowledge of how to cure burns. Apparently the people were at times trapped in the earth lodges which were burned by the enemy. Interestingly, the first instigation of the vision was the handling of the hot ears of corn as they were roasting in the fire at harvest time.

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On the possible identity of the plant snake shot, *rut-patsat*, we have no data. Gilmore, 1919, pp. 110-111 mentions the dodder or love vine, *Cuscuta Paradoxa* Raf. A Mexican living at Pine Ridge, North Dakota mentioned that his people call it rattlesnake food and say that rattlesnakes take it into their dens for food. Another plant connected with snakes mentioned in this source as "snake food" is bittersweet, *Celastrus scandens* L., known to the Dakota as *zuzecha-to-wote*," snake-genitive-food." An Omaha called it snake food and held the notion that it was poisonous (Gilmore, 1919, p. 102).

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Pearl Caesar, Fox Indian of Tama, Iowa, gives the following estimates on wood for fuel: for ¼ cord of wood, about 2 cubic feet, which was a back load according to Mark Evarts, according to Pearl Caesar, the cubic foot referred to would be one armload. Two armloads could be carried on the back. Four armloads would last 24 hours from breakfast to breakfast, plus two big logs. Thus, according to Mark Evarts' reckoning, eight armloads would equal one cord of wood. Evarts: In the fall, 6-7 cords would last about a month if it was still rather warm. In two haulings, they would get about 10 lengths of thicker logs of cottonwood about 5 inches in diameter, 4 ft. long. In coldest winter, thicker logs were taken, about 20 days' supply in the coldest weather. They would get small stuff when it was warmer.

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Incident described in North, 1859, pp. 39-58, the scalping taking place during the Sioux raid as the women were coming home